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RELIGION AND EXISTENTIAL PSYCHOTHERAPY

VIKTOR E. FRANKL[1]

The Spiritual as the Essentially Human Dimension

Any new development in psychotherapy must necessarily be grounded on Psychoanalysis and Individual Psychology. It is our strict duty to keep these foundations in mind. Yet, the edifice which they began has its limitations. No matter how high this structure may seem to have risen, it is our duty and privilege to build higher on these foundations.

Psychotherapeutic theory has been seriously handicapped by *Psychologism.* It is characteristic of Psychologism to lay aside a logical inference under the guise of a psychological conclusion. By this psychologistic process a psychotherapist may try to avoid the sphere of content in order to take refuge in the sphere of expression. He considers only the psychic. The spiritual, for him, is non-existent; at least it is not recognized as an independent, autonomous system.

Misconceptions concerning the "psychosomatic" unity and the "holism" of man have made their own contributions to psychologism by contending that man is a mere psychic-corporeal unity. In our opinion this unity is not what makes man a man; it does not constitute his wholeness. True human wholeness must include the spiritual as an essential element. Moreover, the spiritual is precisely that constituent which is primarily responsible for the unity of man.

Psychoanalysis has always been distinctively "psychologistic" because it tends to see in a human being nothing but *pleasure-seeking* and *instinct-determinism.* It leaves out *value-seeking* and *meaning-orientation.* Now, just as soon as an analyst fails to consider something like meaning and values in his analysis, all the pertinent phenomena become ambiguous in one way or another. "The twilight of the purely psychological turns all cats grey" (1, p. 34), quips von Gebsattel. In explaining this fallacy didactically I should like to use the following comparison. Take, for example, the projection of three dimensional figures — say a ball, a cone, a cylinder — onto a flat surface. Only the same circular figure appears again and again on the same flat surface. That is exactly what happens when things are projected out of spiritual "space" down onto the "plane" of the purely

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psychic. It is no longer possible to distinguish between "achievement" and mere "symptom" (Oswald Schwarz).

Erwin Straus was one of the first scholars to demonstrate the inherent contradictions in the fundamental psychoanalytic concepts of "repression," "sublimation," and "Censor." Scheler calls psychoanalysis an "alchemy" because it tries to produce goodness and love out of instinct. Such a concept seems to be self-contradictory. Has anyone ever heard of a river building its own power plant?

Since psychotherapeutic theory has neglected the categories of meaning and value, there is all the more reason why logotherapeutic[2] theory was forced to place special emphasis on them. Freud himself must have suspected this deficiency, if he did not actually forestall it. In one place he says that the normal man is not only far more amoral than he thinks, but also far more moral than he knows. In another place he advises the therapist to treat the moral considerations of a person with moral means.

It seems quite evident nowadays that, even unconsciously, psychoanalysts have been doing this for a long time. In our opinion ever ypsychoanalysis is effective in the final analysis only in so far as it involves an existential readjustment.

Psychotherapy and Logotherapy

The new psychotherapy must be set up in contrast to all psychologistic theories which ignore the spiritual in man. It must be directly oriented towards the spiritual. This orientation has a twofold direction. On the one hand, it is a psychotherapy derived "from the spiritual," or in Hegelian terms, from the "objective spirit," from *Logos*. And on the other hand, it is a psychotherapy aimed "towards the spiritual," towards the "subjective spirit," towards *Existenz*. In the first case it is *Logotherapy;* in the second, *Existenzanalyse*.[3]

However, the new psychotherapy is not divorced from its antecedents. Its function is supplementary. While Psychoanalysis refers to the pleasure principle, or what we might call the will-to-pleasure, and Individual Psychology emphasizes Status Drives, or what has been called the will-to-power, Logotherapy looks beyond these to what it calls the "will-to-meaning." In this respect it is obvious that the teaching of Freud and Adler complement one another. Therefore, Adler's teachings cannot be dismissed as a "reservoir for the elementary teacher" as Speer seems to think. Of course, Freud and Adler together do not form a perfect system.

[2] The term *Logotherapy*, as well as *Existenzanalyse*, designates specifically Frankl's school of existential psychotherapy.

The spiritual has to be added to their substructure. The spiritual belongs essentially to this perfectly integral system.

Adler and Freud are complementary in still another way. First, Psychoanalysis saw principally sexual determinism in human existence. Then, later, Individual Psychology regarded mainly the "social interest." They overlooked one thing. Both developments were each merely one aspect of that original, total human phenomenon of love. Ludwig Binswanger places this notion of love, intact and undiminished, at the center of his *Daseinsanalyse*. He opposes it to the Heideggerian interpretation of human *Dasein* (Existence) as pure *Sorge* (sorrow, concern).

Existenzanalyse aims to complement these previous theories, to remodel and surpass them, and to complete a truer picture of the "complete" man, namely, "being man" as essentially spiritual *Existenz*. This procedure will refute that old reproach, that we have tried to build the house beginning with the roof. Our intention was simply not to stop with the foundation or at any particular storey. We aimed to bring the "whole" house under a "roof."

From the supplementary character of these theories it will be easy to detect clearer indications of a kind of *convergence* in the individual schools of psychotherapy. If such a convergence is possible, it necessarily demands cooperation among the representatives of the individual tendencies. Not only is the soul itself a "broad land," as Arthur Schnitzler calls it, but also the knowledge of the soul, therapeutics of the soul, psychotherapy, is such a broad land that it must be paced off in all different directions and dimensions. If the law of cooperation applies to research, it applies even more to theory and especially to practice. Here the most appropriate rule is a deliberately eclectic mode of procedure.

Not every Psychotherapist is capable of handling every method of treatment. On the other hand, not every method of treatment is good for every case and every type of patient. For this reason there is a need for adaptability in psychotherapeutic pedagogy. Psychotherapy is like an equation with two unknowns — Psi equals x plus y. The one unknown is that ever variable and incalcuable factor, the *personality of the Doctor*, and the other unknown is *the individuality of the patient*.

Existence and Transcendence.

Psychotherapy has progressed in two stages since the time of Freud. The first stage led *from Automatism to Existence;* the second *from Autonomy to Transcendence*. These two steps are necessary, first because the

[3] *Existenzanalyse* should not be confused with *Daseinsanalyse*. Both German terms have been translated into English as "Existential Analysis."

human being never comes into the picture in a bundle of pure instinct and automatic reflexes, and secondly because the complete picture of man goes beyond the framework of immanence. Fortunately, today the notion of transcendence is not immediately taken as offensive when it is included in the explanation of human nature, or even when it is applied to the nature of human illness. No less a scientist than Einstein expressed this attitude briefly: "Science without religion is lame — religion without science is blind."

In the nature of things, psychotherapy as such has nothing to do with transcendence as such. Psychotherapy concerns itself merely with the transcendentality of the human being in so far as this being is conceived as and created for transcendence. In one book, *Der unbewusste Gott*, we have tried to show how this apparently immanent relationship of man to transcendence can be unconscious, and even repressed. For example, there is not only such a thing as unconscious, repressed sexuality, but also unconscious, repressed religiousness. However, we cannot emphasize enough, in strict contrast to C. G. Jung, that this unconscious religiousness does not belong to the Id, but to the Ego; it is not psychic, but spiritual; it is not "organismic," but personal.

What is at the root of some narrow, futile efforts to interpret human beings merely in terms of immanence without considering their transcendentality? Why do they insist on regarding man, if not as an automaton, nevertheless as an absolutely autonomous nature? These questions lead us to Freud's assertion that the "Narcissism" of mankind has suffered a severe shock on three occasions. The first was brought about by the theory of Copernicus, the second by Darwin, and the third by Freud himself.

As far as the first shock is concerned, it has never been completely self-evident why mankind's feeling of self-esteem should be shaken upon learning that he was not the center of the universe. The fact itself could not cause any deterioration in the genuine worth of man. And being disturbed by this fact is like being disappointed because Goethe was not born at the center of the earth, or because Kant did not live on a magnetic pole.

At any rate it is interesting to note that the historical moment of transformation from a geocentric to a heliocentric cosmogony of astronomy coincided with the historical moment of transformation from a theocentric to an anthropocentric cosmogony of philosophy. At that rate, completely in line with Freud's view, the Copernican cosmogony must really have caused a severe concussion in the consciousness of mankind. In Adlerian terms this concussion might be called a planetarian feeling of inferiority,

and completely in accord with the operation of this mechanism, it would demand its overcompensation: Man felt himself thrown out of the center of the cosmos, so he set himself up all the more as the center of being — in place of God.

This self-deification may have had something to do with the source of European Nihilism of recent times. Every idolatry leads eventually to despair; in the words of Rudolf Allers, it wreaks its vengeance at the precise point where the hierarchy of values has been sinned against. There is a timely example near at hand. In the recent past the German nation divinized "Blood and Soil." The value system which this slogan captions was raised to an absolute principle and made an exclusive rule of acting. What happened? It lost precisely "Blood and Soil": a large part of its "soil," its territory, and a good part, the best part, of its "Blood", its generation of young men. Statistics show that out of a hundred men of the 1924 age group in Germany only 37 are alive and healthy today, as compared with 87 of the same age group in Switzerland.

Psychotherapy sees itself confronted with this nihilism and the despair of the man of today. This means an unusual widening of its scope. In 1945 when the city of Vienna had been completely bombed out and the streets were still strewn with the debris, Otto Kaunders tried his best to deliver a private lecture on psychotherapy to the junior neurologists. He did not have time to continue the course for more than a few class periods, but he took time to put across an idea which was as daring as it was stimulating and unforgettable. He thought that this point ought to be perfectly clear: psychotherapy could certainly not afford to content itself with giving neurotic patients some more or less innocuous relief; it had to go far beyond these limitations and confront itself with the spiritual mass-misery which surrounded it.

Neuroses and Pseudo-Neuroses

The question of extending the scope of psychotherapy in regard to its object and related functions must be clarified by some very careful distinctions. If neuroses are considered as the object of psychotherapy, or, more exactly, if the treatment of neuroses is considered as the task of psychotherapy, in this sense neuroses are taken as specific psychogenic illnesses; but *psychogenic* in this sense does not have the same meaning as *functional*. Modern research has disclosed the widest varieties of vegetative and endocrine functional disorders which are not psychogenic illnesses in the strict sense of the term. In our research we have tried to show how behind many cases of agoraphobia a hidden hyperthyroid condition

is operative. We have also shown that a latent, subnormal productivity of the adrenocortical system can be one cause in many syndromes of depersonalisation, possibly combined with disturbance of attention and inability to concentrate. Since these cases are not really psychogenic, but rather functional conditions, they should be called *pseudoneuroses.*

Moreover, the same distinction ought to be made in regard to every appearance of illness which is not genuinely neurotic, where there is not so much a question of a genuine *cause* stemming from the psychic, but rather a mere *release,* giving rise to what might be called *secondary neuroses.* Outstanding examples in this class are cases in which the mechanism af anticipatory anxiety supports a diseased condition which was not originally psychogenic. Such cases which have been activated, for example, by the indiscreet suggestion of the Doctor or through the media of mass suggestions, have been termed *iatrogenic* neuroses, It is clear that these are likewise responding to psychotherapy, for it has long been established that the scope of psychotherapeutic treatment coincides in no way with the scope of psychogenesis. Bronchial asthma or angina pectoris is not necessarily psychogenic in the strictest sense of the word, and yet, to a great extent, both lend themselves to psychotherapeutic treatment. Finally, there are such cases as warts, whose specific curability by psychotherapeutic means has been known since the time of Bloch, although they are far from being psychogenically evolved.

Distress and Illness

There are also pseudoneuroses which we have termed *noogenic.* These cases do not involve a condition of psychic illness, but rather a condition of spiritual distress. Some existential crisis of maturation is running its course under the clinical appearance of a neurosis, and yet there is no reason for diagnosing it as an illness in the narrow sense. "How all becoming appears so sick!" (Georg Trakl). There is no reason why a man who is laboring under the throes of some spiritual problem or ethical conflict should not sleep just as badly, or shiver as easily, or sweat as much as a neurotic, without actually being a neurotic in the strict sense.

In all these cases, to take psychotherapy in a narrow, traditional, psychologistic sense would mean simply to repress the "metaphysical need." It could easily amount to nothing short of education for "metaphysical levity" (Max Scheler). A somatotherapy of this kind would not only repress the metaphysical need, but try to drown it in tranquilizers.

Keeping these distinctions in mind, it remains for us to prove the necessity of broadening the scope of psychotherapeutic functions. Rudolf Virchow coined the phrase, "Politics are nothing but medicine in the

large." The temptation today is to turn the phrase, "Politics are nothing but Psychiatry in the large." In the Eighth Scandinavian Congress of Phychiatry (1946) Ornulo Odegard and Fröshaug reported the results of a psychiatric commission, established by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice, to perlustrate 50,000 former followers of Quisling. 250 percent more paralytics, paranoids, and paranoid psychopaths were found among this group than in the normal Norwegian population. Some people have postulated periodic series of psychiatric examinations for all political leaders.

There is much which could be said concerning the problem of a *Pathologie des Zeitgeistes* (The Spiritual Pathology of Our Age). One point, at least, should be made clear. Such a problem can be alleviated only by a psychotherapy which looks beyond Darwin's "Struggle for Existence," and beyond Kropotkin's "Mutual Help," to a caption which ought to run: "The struggle for a meaning of existence — and mutual help in finding this meaning." Such a psychotherapy has to be in a truly humanistic understanding of man and of the world. Contemporaneous Nihilism must be opposed by Humanism, not by *Homunculism*. Homunculism ignores in man precisely the man himself, the genuinely human, the *Homo humanus*. Either it concentrates exclusively upon *zoon politikon*, the *homo faber*, man as a technician; or it overemphasizes the *homo sapiens*, man idolized as reason; or it insists that man is a mere product of heredity and environment without free choice; or it may even condescend to consider man as a kind of higher mammal, whose ability to stand erect has "gone to his head." Within the framework of a true picture of man, so necessary for psychotherapeutic purposes, room must be left for the *homo patiens*. In order to instruct a "suffering man," psychotherapy must first learn the meaning of suffering. Suffering, at least in its highest potentiality, is a positive achievement in the highest sense of the term; it is "endowed with meaning" (Paul Polak).

The Meaning of Suffering

Psychotherapy cannot rest content with making man capable of enjoying pleasure or of doing a day's work; it must also make him capable of bearing suffering, in a very definite sense. This statement does not deserve the augurs' laugh, nor does it merit that fashionable catchword of modern Western psychology, "Escapism." True escapism means evading reality, and it consists precisely in fleeing from the reality and from the predestined necessity of suffering, and from the possibility of filling that suffering with meaning. It is the neurotic above all who lacks the courage to suffer; he refuses to dare to suffer. He will not be helped by that imperative, "sapere aude" (Dare to know), which represents the

onesided, superficial conception of *homo sapiens;* he needs that other imperative, "pati aude" (dare to suffer), which corresponds to the conception of *homo patiens,* the man who suffers meaningfully, who fills his suffering with meaning.

Every age has its neurosis, and needs its psychotherapy. It has been reserved for our age to incorporate the capacity of man to suffer into the scope and purpose of psychotherapy. Ours is a generation tried in suffering, experienced in the deepest degradation. Perhaps, only by means of this experience could it find its way back to the acknowledgement of the spiritual personality of man. The new psychotherapy and its underlying conception of man were not concocted at a conference table or at a prescription desk; they took shape in the hard school of airraid shelters and bomb craters, in Prisoner of War and Concentration Camps. If a person did not actually participate in any of these "Borderland Situations," he has only to read the novels of the Resistance in order to understand why the age-old adage, "primum vivere deinde philosophari," was no longer applicable. In these extremities the ultimate question was finding a meaning for life and accounting for the meaning of death. Man was compelled of his own will to render this account, so that he could stand upright and go ahead and die in a manner somewhat worthy of a human being. What really mattered was, "*primum philosophari deinde mori.*" In these situations anyone who theorized in categories of 50 years ago would have simply missed the point. Talking about complexes and feelings of inferiority would have been useless and completely senseless.

The question of mastering existentially these borderland situations has been treated by our book on the psychology of Concentration Camps. An American review of this book considered one thing alone of any importance. It attempted to show by apriori reasoning how the experiences delineated in this book manifested a regression back to urethral and anal erotic stages of development. In reaction to this review, a young European psychiatrist has described his own experiences in a Concentration Camp shortly before the end of the war. The sentence of his execution had already been pronounced, but at the last moment it was forestalled. During those last hours when his death seemed certain, he held a dialogue with himself. He testifies that there was no question of urethral or anal eroticism, nor of Oedipus or inferiority complexes, but the thought which completely occupied his mind was a self-administered "*Existenzanalyse.*"

Logotherapy tries to answer the psychotherapeutic needs of our time. Modern man needs to be considered as more than a psychophysical reality. His spiritual existence cannot be neglected. He is not a mere organism.

He is a person. Even the mentally sick man is a person. The worth of this person must be respected by psychotherapy in practice. Atrocities against his person, as well as his life, must not be repeated. Only a psychotherapy which presupposes a boundless respect for the individuality and the transcendentality of all human existence can guarantee that the personal dignity of each individual man will be observed in practice in our modern age. The personal dignity of an individual is inviolable because it is, in a sense, infinite. A person is worth as much today as when the words of the Talmud first proclaimed: "Whoever destroys even a single soul should be considered the same as a man who destroyed a whole world, and whoever saves one single soul is to be considered the same as a man who has saved a whole world." The possibility of destroying a whole world was never so imminent as it is today, nor has a practical respect for the individual person ever been so necessary.

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EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON, DISINHERITED PURITAN

LUCY D. SULLIVAN

When the New England poet, Edwin Arlington Robinson, wrote so dogmatically to his friend Gledhill that this life is only "one little scene in the big show,"[1] he reflected the Puritan tradition of his native soil. Preocupation with the ultimate issues is rooted in the Puritan conviction that man's salvation is dependent upon his understanding of the purpose of God in the universe. The insatiable thirst for the fulfillment of this hope is the very "spirit of Puritanism,"[2] and Robinson's entire life was spent aspiring to touch "the one right chord/ Wherein God's music slumbers."

However, while fervently embodying the spirit of Puritanism, Robinson found it necessary to renounce its dogma. Disillusioning experience was the cause of his decisive dismissal of orthodox Christianity. Disgusted with the church's apparently exclusive concern with ritual, Robinson wrote Harry Smith that when he saw the discrepancy between what Trinity Church in Boston was and what it stood for, he felt "like breaking chairs," and added that he wondered if the human race would ever acquire a "logical notion of Christianity."[3] Yet, intrigued by the New Testament first as "mere literature," and then solaced by it after his mother's death, he found in the Gospel of John a meaning "utterly different" from its interpretation by the popular Christianity against which he had revolted. After re-reading the Gospel of John he commented, "The popular mi-interpretation of Christianity makes me sick."[4]

Robinson uttered a full-throated satire of this misunderstanding of Christianity in *Captain Craig,* where he announced that the Hosanna tune of Tilbury Town had a false note because the Puritan citizens preferred to adore God rather than feed the starving Captain. Turning his back upon the popular interpretation of Christianity, Robinson was touched for awhile by pessimistic naturalism while reading Zola and Hardy, but he finally realized that life it not merely a "blind atomic pilgrimage" from nothing to nothing.[5] Writing to Gledhill concerning

[1] Herman Hagedorn, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1938), p. 91.
[2] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 9.
[3] Denham Sutcliffe, ed., *Untriangulated Stars; Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson to Harry de Forest Smith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), p. 260.
[4] *Untriangulated Stars,* p. 170.
[5] Harry Hayden Clark, *Major American Poets* (New York, 1936), p. 241.

the struggle in ridding himself of the blight of naturalism, he said, "but I fear I haven't the stamina to be a Christian accepting Christ as either human or divine."[6]

Struggling "as deliberately as any Teuton for a Weltanschauung," an integrating principle of life,[7] he explored Oriental mysticism and Christian Science, and ran the gamut of the Everlasting No to the Everlasting Yea of *Sartor Resartus*, finally adopting a sort of creedless idealism which embraced Socrates, Carlyle, Emerson, Paul and Jesus as near equals.

Admittedly disillusioned by Puritanism's distortion of Christianity, Robinson nevertheless had the blood of the Puritans in his veins, and it is this blood that comes closest to the surface in his poetry. An amazing number of Puritan concepts appear in his work, and in his personal letters he expresses himself in terms of the faith which he never successfully shrugged off.

During the middle passage of Robinson's life he plunged into what he called "the valley of the shadow." After some years spent in its darkness he experienced a modified "illumination of grace" in his painful rescue from Drink, the demon of the valley. Commenting on this period of Robinson's life Henry Wells says that it was only after the poet's own deepest descent into the valley and his own spiritual rescue, and then only in his longer poems, that he gave his most searching presentations of hope and despair and conversion from one state to the others.[8]

In these poems there is evidence of a quest for that Light of which Robinson admittedly caught only "a glimpse once in a while."[9] Since the poet wanders in a chilly mist of questioning where old belief has been swept away and no new confidence has really restored the balance, it is therefore surprising to find that the major tenets of the old faith — modified, to be sure, but recognizably Puritan — are part of the fibre of these poems.

Some of the basically puritan concepts found in these longer poems are those of God, a Supreme Intelligence who rules an ordered universe; sin and regeneration. In these fundamental concepts the essence of Puritanism is found: God is majesty and perfection, the beginning of things, the sustainer and the principle of universal harmony. Sin is the

[6] Ridgely Torrence, de., *Selected Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1940), p. 13.
[7] Hagedorn, p. 90.
[8] Henry W. Wells, *The American Way of Poetry* (New York, 1945), p. 94.
[9] *Selected Letters*, p. 13.

principle of disharmony; and regeneration is the means by which the sin is forgiven and the harmony restored.[10]

Merle Curti states in his volume, *The Growth of American Thought,* that one significant result of the Protestant revolt was the idea that the individual could discover God by subjective intuition rather than on the authority of church traditions. Much in the Puritan movement was an expression of this general current of thought.[11] Robinson employs this concept of an intuitional apprehension of God.

Told by his Harvard friend Burnham that the word "divine" originated in the Sanskrit work meaning "light," Robinson thereafter used the word apparently as a symbol of intuitional revelation.[12] As he presents it, this light, or intuition of absolute reality, somehow reveals itself to us in a world in which mortal man is out of touch with the divine plan. In the poem *Lancelot,* Robinson envisions the French knight riding away from Guinevere, and in his darkness comes "the light." The optimistic Captain Craig dying in a dusty attic assures his young friends that "there is no servitude so fraudulent/ As of a sun-shut mind." And Merlin tells Dagonet that "the light that Galahad found" will "yet light the world." At the close of the poem *Matthias at the Door,* the industrialist waits "for the dawn," and Paul at the Three Taverns looks back over the stormy years to the Light on the Damascus Road and in its strength starts out to walk the "seven leagues" to Ceasar.

In addition to "light," two words which Robinson continually employed, "the Word" and "God," are probably to be understood as the source of the light, or ultimate truth. Perry Miller, commenting on the Puritan concept of God, says that man has "the indomitable conviction that there is a way to bridge the gap between the Great Intelligence and His plan."[13] T. K. Whipple is convinced that Robinson's idea is that "each of us has some sort of contact with the Infinite."[14] Robinson expresses this belief when he has Zoe say in *King Jasper*:

> I don't say what God is, but it's a name
> That somehow answers us when we are driven
> To feel and think how little we have to do
> With what we are.

Keenly aware of the difficulty involved in the human expression of the divine, Robinson wrote to Miss Bess Dworsky in 1931 that he was

[10] Miller, p. 9.
[11] Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1951), p. 55.
[12] Hagedorn, p. 94.
[13] Miller, p. 9.
[14] T. K. Whipple, *Spokesmen,* pp. 48-50, quoted by Clark, *op cit.,* p. 242.

convinced that "nothing of an infinite nature can be proven or disproven in finite terms."[15] This difficulty Robinson expresses when he has Garth's ghost persistently questioned by Matthias about the human soul in *Matthias at the Door,* and Garth replies impatiently that Matthias, one of the "world infants," "Would build a skiff to circumnavigate/ Infinity" with "a few finite and unfinished words" which are merely "chips of brief experience."

Robinson strives for expression of the essence of Deity in *Captain Craig.* He introduces the captain as an old beggar-philosopher delighting in a sunbeam that falls aslant his attic pallet. This man who "laughs with God" converts the poet of the poem (probably Robinson) to his gospel of Christian love after telling him of a dream he had in which Christ appeared to him with the warning, "be sure you find Nazareth." Later, says Craig, "Through dusk that hindered it,/ I found the truth." Moments before his death the old philosopher cries, "The truth is yours, God's universe is yours," and gives final directions for band music to be played at his funeral, with emphasis on trombones.

Captain Craig is then clearly Robinson's answer to the gloomy, blighting perversions of orthodox Christianity, for in Craig's "gospel of love" bequest to the world, Mr. Robinson is spotlighting what he probably understands as "the true doctrine of Christ, too often neglected by those who go by the name of Christians."[16]

The outstanding articulation of faith in a purposeful God Robinson offers, however, in *The Man Against the Sky.* In this poem of Dantesque majesty Robinson presents a man representative of collective humanity "black-drawn" against the "wild-red" of the setting sun — a man going to his death. Then Robinson queries as to what creed the man lived by. Lloyd Morris says that the poem is a record of the "chief ways" in which the mind and spirit of men have "oriented themselves" with respect to the universe.[17]

Emery Neff brilliantly points out that Robinson lays bare the true results of the "new gospels of science" in *The Man Against the Sky*: "The twentieth century says that Christianity which made life meaningful by Heaven and Hell has been superseded by science which palliates Oblivion by promising to make earthly life its own reward." Examining the pretensions of this new gospel, Robinson summarizes man's life as a

[15] *Selected Letters,* p. 165.
[16] Charles Cestre, *An Introduction to Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1930), p. 178.
[17] Lloyd Morris, *The Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1923), p. 71.

"racked empty day" and then sends the poem hurtling to its conclusion with "an ironic recomendation of mass suicide." In the sardonic closing section of the poem, says Neff, the scientist is bracketed with the communist, content with a materialistic interpretation of history.[18]

In agreement with Neff, Yvor Winters carries the philosophical interpretation still further. He says that Robinson, asking why we perpetuate the race if we doubt the existence of Heaven and Hell and believe in Oblivion, answers his own question by saying that we know "if we know anything," the existence of a Deity, a Word, which we "receive," and that this knowledge is our "sole justification" for "not ending ourselves and our kind." The concluding section of the poem, states Winters, describes the desolation which we would experience without the knowledge of the "orient Word."[19]

Charles Cestre, the French critic, of whom Robinson once said, "he knows what I am trying to do," writes of the "religious fervor" of the poem and emphasizes that it has "all the force of self reliance and strenuous individualism that mark the Puritan Temper."[20]

Not only does the Puritan concept of a Deity conversant with men occurs in Robinson's poetry, but there is evidence also for Robinson's obviously strong convictions regarding sin.

Robinson believes that the essential drama of life lies in the inward effect of experience upon the spirit, and Lloyd Morris defines the "central preocupation" of that experience as a "quest for certainty." In this quest Robinson recapitulates the fundamental intellectual beliefs of the period in which he wrote — beliefs determined in part by the Puritan tradition.[21]

This tradition stamped indelibly on the New England mind the doctrine that although God had created man in His own image, His cherished creatures had fallen from grace when the devil tempted Eve. In consequence men had thereafter been born in sin, the dominant characteristic of which is self-centredness. This manifestation of sin, according to Robinson, is the major block in the roadway of man's quest for certitude, and it makes of life a "galled and sorry" affair.

Evidently what Robinson condemns in people is the kind of self-centredness that makes them insensitive or indifferent to the feelings of those about them. In the long poem, *Tristram*, this egocentricity takes the form of Gawain's relatively harmless resolve to live on the surface of life

[18] Emery Neff, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1948), p. 183.
[19] Yvor Winters, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (Norfolk, Conn., 1946), pp. 46-50.
[20] Cestre, p. 62.
[21] Morris, pp. 63, 64.

or of Modred's deadly aim of "rule or ruin," or Tristram and Isolt's "blankly materialistic life of the senses."[22]

A large number of portraits in the Robinsonian gallery of self-dominated souls are men who, although successful in the eyes of the world, are plagued by a sinister inner darkness, a night haunted by all the terrors of a wasteland.

Robinson gives an exposé of the twentieth century idol, the big business man, in the forty-six-page soliloquy, *Cavender's House*. Cavender is dominated by egotism and is brutally insensitive to his wife's needs. Suspecting her of unfaithfulness, Cavender, in a fit of passion, throws her over a cliff to her death. After wandering with a Puritanical conscience for twelve years, Cavender returns to his home, where a projection of his own mind, in the spirit of the dead Laramie, relentlessly examines him and finally brings him to an admission of his sin.

In *The Glory of the Nightingales* the major character, Nightingale, who is guilty of ruining his friend Mallory, is afflicted with the same gnawing self-importance. Benefactor of his community, he is regarded as "The dominant bird/Outsinging and outshining and outflying everything else."

Robinson gives us another portrait in blacks and greys in *Matthias at the Door*. Matthias, a successful worldling, also has "a name written large for all to know." He, too, is beset by his own character, but his peculiar disease is self-righteous smugness. His friend Garth says to him,

> Your God, if you still believe in him,
> Created you so wrapped in rectitide
> That even your eyes are filmed a little with it.
> . . . . . .
> It spares your vision many distances
> That you have not explored.

Roman Bartholow, a Puritan in his quest for certainty, is "something of a delver in the dark" where he hopes to find "his immortal soul." Yet he, too, is absorbed in self. Afflicted with pride that causes him to isolate himself from a wife who had sincerely repented of her infidelity, Bartholow drives her to suicide.

Fernando Nash, the musician born to create divine music, is the major character of *The Man Who Died Twice*. Spurning his "anointing" to compose exalted music, he succumbs to the death drums of drunkenness and debauchery and feels himself "damned." All he can compose in his feverish brain is a "hellish revel."

Avon's Harvest is Exhibit A of Robinson's capacity for exploring the

[22] Ellsworth Barnard, *Edwin Arlington Robinson*, (New York, 1952), p. 249.

hidden recesses of the spirit. Avon's state — lost in self — is what Mark Van Doren describes as the "corrupting effect of single-minded hate and fear when no other emotions are allowed room in a closed soul."[23] Hating a schoolfellow, Avon is apparently incapable of the admission of guilt. Fear attaches itself to him, and he ultimately dies a victim of his own conscience, for his fear kills him.

Tasker Norcross is the study of a man totally deficient in spiritual qualities. If Roman Bartholow "delves in the dark" for his soul, Norcross doesn't bother, for he is despairingly aware that he has no soul. His neighbors know him only "as a man may know a tree." He has no genius, and no friends; pictures, architecture and music are "merely groups of sensations which have nothing to say," and he has "no faith longer than desperation."[24] Norcross, then, is probably Robinson's presentation of a man hopelessly lost in self.

Concerning the problem of self, Robinson himself had written Gledhill, "Selfishness hangs to a man like a lobster and is the thing that keeps humanity where it is."[25] It is this principle of self-absorption — conceived by the Puritan mind as disharmony — that Robinson decries, and which is noticeably evident as the disrupting factor in the lives of his characters.

But does Robinson hold out hope for these people plagued with the clinging lobster of self? Harry Hayden Clark comments that the only kind of progress Robinson believed in was "self-conquest,"[26] and it is this struggle in which Robinson involves his characters that gives full evidence of his susceptibility to the spirit of Puritanism. The Puritan held that the attainment of ultimate truth is the result of divine revelation embodied in the Scriptures. At best, man's knowledge is dim and distorted, said he; faith alone is the answer to man's quest for certainty,[27] because it is faith which begets the experience of regeneration.

Barnard says that surprising as the fact may be, the Christian doctrine of grace — or something very like it — lives at the heart of Robinson's vision of the world,[28] and of his poem, *Merlin*, Robinson himself wrote a friend, "You mustn't forget the redemption, even if you don't see it."

In Robinson's gallery of souls, lost or saved, there are a few true "children of the Night," like Avon, Natalie, Norcross and Gabrielle, for whom no Light shines in the blackness, no Word breaks the awful

[23] Mark Van Doren, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1927), p. 59.
[24] Barnard, pp. 128, 129.
[25] *Selected Letters*, p. 13.
[26] Clark, p. 940.
[27] Russell Blankenship, *American Literature* (New York, 1949), p. 57.
[28] Barnard, p. 231.

silence. On the other hand, there are many "rescued souls" such as Cavender, Matthias and Nash of whom Robinson writes as being "born again" or "illuminated," terms which he employs evidently with definite recollections of their religious connotation.[29]

Henry Wells points out that despair is deepened by a loss of faith in God in *Roman Bartholow*.[30] The characters are continually debating the problems of the soul. Gabrielle says, "I've a soul, I hope, yet I'm not sure," and Barthlow says,

> Our souls are foreign in us till our fears
> Attest them and they clamour to be known
> *And owned; they are our slayers and our saviours.*

At the end of the poem, Bartholow recovers from moral degradation by "finding his soul," and is reminded by, his scholarly friend of the social responsibilities attendant upon his spiritual illumination: "You are going to live,/At last, that more may live."

Even through the highly symbolical poems, *Amaranth* and *King Jasper*, Robinson draws a thread of redemption. In *Amaranth* when the fog is gradually dispelled, Wells indicates that Robinson evidently means to convey a "subtle allegory of spiritual darkness and enlightenment, one more treatise by an austere New Englander on Everyman's hard road to salvation."[31] In *King Jasper*, it is Zoë (the enlightened principle of life) alone who survives the catastrophe of the fall of Jasper's kingdom.

Lancelot, lost in self, at first, through the fascination of Guinevere, queen of seduction, is called to his redemption by the aspirations of his "Grail-smitten better self" and finds the Light which Guinevere had dimmed for him so long.

Robinson gives the role of illuminator to Laramie's spirit in the long poem, *Cavender's House*. Penetrating Cavender's dry, obtuse soul by her revelation of his selfishness and brutality, her faith then points the way to his salvation. At the end of the poem, the repentant murderer gives himself up to the law, a symbol of God's decree, and thus finds expiation.

Nightingale's purgation of self comes through his recognition of the futility of revenge and by his confession to Mallory of his pride and lust. Filling the void of Mallory's life with a vision of what a bacteriologist could do for suffering humanity, he wills his mansion to Mallory for a hospital, and thus consigns the scientist to a "long sentence of . . . usefulness."

The poems which more nearly approximate the Puritan doctrine of

[29] Wells, p. 99.
[30] Wells, p. 99.
[31] Wells, p. 103.

regeneration, however, are *Captain Craig, Matthias at the Door, Nicodemus* and *The Man Who Died Twice.*

Captain Craig tells his friends that there is a perennial flower that "has the name of Selfishness:/No doubt you call it Love," which poisons men, but he gives the antidote for the poison in his philosophy of the "Child." He terms Christ as the "Child" and urges his hearers to find redemption from self through "the Child in the Man."

This theme of "Ye must be born again." barely stated in *Captain Craig,* Robinson elaborates in *Matthias at the Door.* The self-righteous Matthias, for whom pride is "more than life," passes through a long night of loneliness and suffering taking the shape of two great losses: the loss of his wife, first by betrayal, and later by suicide; and the loss of his religious faith which he finally sees was not vital but merely a "traditional convenience." Stripped of wife, pseudo-faith, and pride, and overhelmed by self-contempt and despair, he walks down to the "dark Egyptian door," a symbol of death, and beats upon it for admission, only to be told by a voice, "You cannot die, Matthias, till you are born./. . . . And it's imperative that you shall be born." Self, he is told, is what hinders his regeneration, and the Voice asserts, "There is no cure for self;/ There's only an occasional revelation." At the end of the poem Matthias realizes that self cannot be cured, that it indeed must be transcended, and he is on his way to that spiritual rebirth as he waits for the "dawn" of revelation.

Hagedorn says that Robinson was possessed by the theme of spiritual rebirth after he wrote *Matthias at the Door.* He returned to the third chapter of the Gospel of St. John which had been his inspiration, and in three days "let *Nicodemus* write itself."[32] In this discerning examination of moral cowardice, there are echoes of Robinson's words, "I'm afraid I don't have the stamina to be a Christian." After his visit with Jesus, Robinson pictures a deeply moved Nicodemus calling on Caiaphas and saying to him of Christ, "We think we are alive. But we are dead./ . . . . He will not die." Shrewd Caiaphas replies with a sneer,

> But you will never be seen
> With him beside you in Jerusalem.
> I know you, Nicodemus.

And Nicodemus replies in despair,

> Panic, and ancestors, and desperation!
> Rabbits and rats! God help me, Caiaphas,
> If I am what you see. If you are right,
> I am not worth my name.

[32] Hagedorn, p. 362.

The Man Who Died Twice has been termed a "dissertation on spiritual conversion."[33] Robinson, always the spiritual analyst who views the human soul as an entity to be saved or lost, describes Fernando Nash as a musician created for the making of celestial symphonies. For twenty years, however, he has been merely a lustful, drunken sot — a victim of the "drums of death." Lying on his cot, with Bach's face rebuking him from the wall, he breathlessly waits for those drums to beat him into perdition. To his amazement, however, divine grace intervenes, and "the peace that passeth understanding" falls upon him; he is reborn. Robinson says of him,

> A grateful shame
> For all his insults to the Holy Ghost
> That were forgiven was like an anodyne
> Laid in a buried wound somewhere within him,
> Deeper than surgeons go; and a vast joy,
> Which broke and swept and covered him like a sea
> Of innocence, leaving him eager as a child. . . .

Shortly after his conversion, Nash is given to hear the music he was created to compose. A vast music of "golden trumpets" and "choral overflow of sound and fire" breaks over him. Crying for paper on which to record the divine music, he stumbles into the hall, slumps to the floor and bumps down the stairs to lie, a "sprayling obstacle," at the bottom. When he recovers, he knows the musician in him is dead, but he claims he is rich in the memory of the heavenly music he has heard, and "richer still" in the possession of a new life. He asserts,

> I have found far more than I have lost
> And so shall not go mourning. God was good
> To give my soul to me before I died
> Entirely. . . .

Thus Robinson closes his thesis of regeneration, a thesis stated tentatively in *Cavender's House* and *The Glory of the Nightingale,* uttered more surely in *Captain Craig* and *Nicodemus,* and expounded in *Matthias at the Door* and *The Man Who Died Twice.*

Robinson, apparently dispossessed of Puritanism by his cultural environment and his own choice, conducted a lifelong search for an adequate substitute for the faith his reason could not accept. Yet there persists throughout his longer, philosophical poems the unmistakable concepts of the Puritan faith. By inference or by definite statement, in these poems, Robinson observes that by the illumination of the Light or the Word, self-diseased men can find and frequently do find spiritual redemption.

[33] Wells, p. 101.

SOME NOTES TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN CALVIN (*continued*)

ROGER NICOLE

4. *Sermons.*

For a discussion and evaluation of Calvin's sermons, the following works are helpful:

E. Mühlhaupt, *Die Predigt Calvins, ihre Geschichte, ihre Form und ihre religiösen Grundgedanken.* Berlin & Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1931. 173 pp.

T. H. L. Parker, *The Oracles of God.* London: Lutterworth Press, 1947. 175 pp.

Leroy Nixon, *John Calvin - Expository Preacher.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950. 136 pp.

Bernard Gagnebin, *L'Incroyable Histoire des Sermons de Calvin.* Geneva, 1956. 26 pp.

E. Mühlhaupt, *Der Psalter auf der Kanzel Calvins.* Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1958. 135 pp.

Parker's volume has especially interesting appendices showing Calvin's life plans for the subject matter of his sermons, a conspectus of manuscripts of sermons in Geneva, a list of sermons to be found in *CR*, and lists of early English and French editions of the sermons. Although an accurate computation is presently impossible, it would appear that Calvin preached upward of 2400 sermons which were in some way recorded. Of this number 765 appeared in print during his lifetime or shortly after his death and 107 more have been preserved for us in a Latin translation issued in 1604. These 872 sermons may be found in the *CR*. We might note in addition 3 sermons on Psalm 46 which were published in 1562 and 1568 in an English translation for which we do not have the French original. The following table lists chronologically the French editions and shows in parallel columns the translations which were made. The bibliographical indications have been compressed to a strict minimum (G. = Geneva; L. = London; G.R. = Grand Rapids; Ed. = Edinburgh). More details may be found in *CR*, or in Parker.

Sermons in French.	*English translations*	*Other translations*
2 *sermons* (Ps. 115 and 124) G.1546		
4 *sermons* (Ps. 16, 27 and Hebr. 13) *avec exposition du Ps.* 87 G.1552 again in 6 *sermons* G.1555	*Certain Homilies* L.1553 again L.1561 again L.1579 again Calvin Tr. Soc. 1851?	Latin G. 1553 Dutch Franeker 1941
	A Sermon (Heb. 13) L.1581	
	2 *Sermons* L.1584	
22 *sermons sur Ps.* 119 G.1553 again twice G.1562	22 *Sermons* L.1580	German Cassel 1615
2 *sermons* . . . I Tim. 2 1555 also in *sermons sur Tim.* G.1561 and again G.1563		
Sermons sur les 10 *Commandements.* 1557 again 1559 and G.1562 also in *Sermons sur Deut.*, G.1562 again G.1567	*Sermons on* X *Com.* L.1579 again L.1579 again L.1579 again L.1581 again L.1581	Dutch Franeker 1940
[27] *Plusieurs sermons sur la Divinité, etc.* G.1558 again G.1563 ed. A. M. Schmidt, G.1936 *Esaie* 53 Paris 1951	27 *sermons* . . . L.1581 *The Deity of Christ* (20 sermons) G.R.1950 *Gospel Acc. to Isaiah* G.R.1953	Dutch (in part) Franeker 1940 Japanese 1958
[19] *sermons sur* I Cor. 10 & 11 G.1558 again G.1563		
[10] *sermons sur Melchisedech . . . avec* [8 sur] 3 *Cantiques* G.1560	*Sermons on . . . Melchisedech* L.1592	
3 sur *Abraham* again G.1561		German Munich 1937 Dutch Leiden 1897
10 *sermons* again G.1565 *Cantiques* again in *Harmonie Evangélique* 1562, G.1562 and G.1590		
13 *sermons de l'Election* G.1560	13 *sermons* L.1579	

avec *Traité de la Prédestination*
again (separately) 1562

[101] *sermons sur les Epîtres à Tim & à Tite.* G.1561
again G.1563

Sermons on ... Tim. & Tit. L.1579
2 *Godly and Notable Sermons* (II Tim. 2:8ff.) L.1555
Selection of most celebrated sermons
N.Y. 1830 & Phil. 1848
again G.R.1950

[200] *sermons sur le Deutéronome* G.1562
again G.1567

Sermons upon Deut.
L.1581 and again L.1583

[4] *sermons sur le Cantique d'Ezech.* G.1562

Sermons upon the Songe L.1560
again L.1569 and L.1574

Dutch Antwerp 1581

65 *sermons sur l'Harmonie des Ev.* G.1562
another issue in 1562
again G.1590
La Nativité (18 sermons)
Paris 1956-7

Luke 2:9-14 in Parker L.1947

German
3 sermons 1586
Nativity
Cleveland 1866
Dutch
Beatitudes
Franeker 1951

[48] *sermons sur ... Ephésiens* G.1562
again the same year.

Sermons on Eph. L.1577

[43] *sermons sur ... Galatiens* G.1563

Sermons upon Gal. L.1574

[159] *sermons sur le Livre de Job* G.1563
again G.1568
again G.1611

Sermons upon Job L.1574
again L.1574
again L.1579 or 1580
again L.1580
again L.1584
Sermons from Job G.R.1952 (20 sermons)

Latin tr.
Opera G. 1617
Amst. 1667
German
Herborn 1587
Neukirchen 1950

47 *sermons sur Daniel* 5-12 La Rochelle 1565

3 *Notable sermons upon Psalm* 46 L.1562
again L.1568

In the last column one could add various selected collections such as *Conciones VII* (G. 1556), *Predicatien*, ed. Martini (Dordrecht, 1855), *Het Gepredikte Woord*, ed. Douma & van de Vegt (Franeker, 1940-41, 5 vols., noted in part), *Joh. Calvin Diener am Wort Gottes*, ed. Mühlhaupt (Göttingen, 1934), and one Japanese selection, ed. Takamori (1938, 3d. ed. 52).

An examination of the above table reveals that there were no less than 31 imprints of Calvin's sermons in French between 1546 and 1565, and 29 in English in the second half of the 16th. century. Only three major collections were apparently not translated, to wit the sermons on Daniel, on the Gospel Harmony; and on I Cor. 10 and 11. On the other hand the appearance of the English translation twice antedates the earliest known French original, suggesting either that the work was executed on the basis of a manuscript copy, or that the earlier French imprint is now lost (*Sermons on II Tim.* 2: 8-10, *Sermons on the Song of Hezekiah*). In the case of Ps. 46, the French original has entirely disappeared.

At the end of his *Life of Calvin* Beza indicates that in addition to the published sermons there were in Geneva manuscript records of Calvin's sermons on Genesis, I and II Samuel, I Kings 1-18, many Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, 7 Minor Prophets, Acts, I and II Corinthians, I and II Thessalonians, part of Hebrews, part of the Gospel Harmony, and brief summaries on Joshua. The scribe Denis Raguenier, who devoted his time from 1549 to his death in 1560 or 1561 to the task of recording and transcribing Calvin's sermons, did in 1560 make an inventory of the fruits of his labors. This was copied by Nicolas Colladon into the records of the Company of pastors of Geneva. The text is found in the work of Bernard Gagnebin listed above, which is the authoritative source for the subject at hand. This inventory reveals the existence of 2042 sermons in at least 34 bound volumes with 5 additional collections, 2 of which at least were not bound. Of these at least 639 sermons held in more than 12 volumes are available in print, leaving perhaps some 1375 sermons which were found only there. Beyond the time of this catalog, Raguenier recorded and transcribed the 65 sermons on the Gospel Harmony, 24 assorted sermons, and perhaps others still. Other scribes prepared a record of the sermons on I and II Samuel, I Kings 1-18 and some

chapters of Hebrews, as well as some sermons on various texts. In 1697 the Library of Geneva possessed 40 vols. of unpublished sermons of Calvin (The catalog carries 48, because it includes 4 vols. on Ezekiel duplicating 3 others and lists also 4 vols. of sermons which were apparently published.) In 1805, apparently in order to secure much needed shelf space, all but one of these were sold by weight together with some duplicates which the Library was discarding! In 1823, 9 of these volumes were bought from a ragwoman and later returned to the Library. Subsequently four more were recovered and one additional volume of sermons on various texts, not listed in any of the abovementioned catalogs, was given in 1879. It is to be hoped that additional volumes may yet be discovered and resume their place in Geneva. Meanwhile there is a considerable amount of sermonic material which awaits publication. In 1936 Hanns Rückert began issuing the sermons on II Samuel: between 1936 and 1938 five fascicles appeared (Neukirchen:Erziehungsverein) containing 45 of the 87 sermons. Then the work was interrupted. Recently, however, under the sponsorship of the Presbyterian World Alliance, a committee of experts has been formed, the various sections have been apportioned to individual scholars, arrangements have been made with the *Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins* of Neukirchen for the publication, and it is permitted to hope that within a few years all of this material will be available in print. In connection with this effort Bernard Gagnebin made an extensive search by corresondence to discover whether other volumes might be located in other libraries. Thus far none has turned out, but the investigation revealed the presence at the Bodleian Library of Oxford University of 84 sermons on Genesis. These never were part of the Genevan collection, but were prepared privately by Raguenier for John or Thomas Bodley and taken by them when they returned to England. Three more unpublished sermons have been found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, Collection DuPuy 268, two of these are on Genesis, and the third deals with Psalm 89: 31-38. This material will be included in the projected edition referred to above. In his book *De Psalter auf der Kanzel Calvins,* Erwin Mühlhaupt has produced a translation into German of 9 unpublished sermons on the Psalms, 8 from the Geneva manuscripts, and one from Paris. In this case the translation actually precedes the text! The following table shows the available material and the plan of publication:

In the first column we show the catalog marking in the Library of Geneva, in the second column the number of folios, in the third column the number of sermons, in the fourth column whether these are week-day (w) or Sunday (S)

sermons, in the fifth column the section of Scripture treated, and in the sixth column the name of the prospective editor:

Ms.fr.	Folios	Sermons		Scripture	Editor
16	877	87	w	II Samuel [1]	Hanns Rückert, Tübingen
17	616	66	w	Isaiah 13-29	Georges Barrois, Princeton
18	603	67	w	Isaiah 30-41	T. H. L. Parker, Grantham
19	498	57	w	Isaiah 42-51	R. Martin-Achard, Geneva
20	159	25	w	Jeremiah 14-18	J. D. Benoit, Strasbourg
21	400	55	w	Ezekiel 1-15	Barnabas Nagy, Budapest
22	577	69	w	Ezekiel 23-48	Barnabas Nagy, Budapest
(23	417	53	w	Ezekiel 23-35 Repeating in part Ms.fr. 22)	
24	225	28	w	Micah	J. D. Benoît, Strasbourg
25	369	44	S	Acts 1-7	W. F. Dankbaar, Groningen
26	484	58	S	I Corinthians 1-9	W. F. Dankbaar, Groningen
40a	176	24	S	Various texts: 16 unpublished.[2] 1 on Gen., 1 on Ex., 8 on Ps., 3 on Ezek., 2 on Mt., 1 on Acts. 3 on Dt. and Job published 5 on Is. and Ez. repeated	Erwin Mühlhaupt
40b	59	6	S	On the Passion: Mt. 26:27 [3]	Erwin Mühlhaupt
	38		w	Joshua. (Some by Cop and Beza)	
40c	114	8		6 on Dt. published 2 on I Cor. 1 repeated (Ms.fr.26)	
Oxford		84	w	Genesis	Richard Stauffer, Basel
Paris		3		2 on Gen., 1 on Ps. 89 [2]	Richard Stauffer and E. Mühlhaupt

It appears from the above table that, including the sermons on II Samuel and on the Psalter presently in process of publication, there are at least 640 sermons to be published in this undertaking, and if the Oxford sermons on Genesis do not duplicate the 23 published sermons on Genesis nor the 2 sermons in Paris, nor the sermon on Gen. 12:1-3 found in Ms. fr. 40a, and counting the sermons on Joshua for at least 9, the total might well run above 675.

The extent of our total loss through the lamentable action of the Library of Geneva in 1805, estimated on the basis of the available catalogs, may be tabulated as follows:

The first column shows the portion of Scripture, the 2d. column the number of sermons reported by Raguenier in his catalog, the 3d. column the number of

[1] Partially published and in speedy process of completion.
[2] 9 sermons on the Psalter published in German translation by Mühlhaupt, as noted above.

sermons found in manuscript or published, the 4th. column the number of sermons presumably lost, the 5th. column the areas of Scripture covered by the lost sermons, if this be known:

Book	Sermons	Found or Published	Lost	Scripture treated in lost sermons.	Vols. lost
Gen.	123	84-111	12-39		1?
Ps.	72	9-13	59-63		2?
Is.	343	197	146	Isaiah 1-12, 52, 54-66	6
Jer.	91	25	66	Jer. 1-14, 19-52	2?
Lam.	25	"	25	Lamentation 1-5	1
Ez.	174	127	47	Ez. 16-22 except 18:5; 20:30; 22:9ff	1
Hos.	65	"	65	Hosea 1-14	1
Joel	17	"	17	Joel 1-3	1
Amos	43	"	43	Amos 1-9	1
Obad.	5	"	5	Obadiah	
Jon.	6	"	6	The beginning of Jonah	1
Zeph.	17	"	17	Zephaniah 1-3	
Acts	189	44	145	Acts 8-28	3
I Cor.	110	77	33	I Corinthians 12-16	1
II Cor	66	"	66	II Corinthians 1-13	1
Thess.	46	1?	45-46	I and II Thessalonians (Except II Th. 1:6-10)	1

Thus, out of the 2042 sermons listed by Raguenier, at least 797 and perhaps 829 have thus far defied all the efforts at recovery. To this great loss must be added that of 1 vol. of sermons on I Kings and 1 vol. on Hebrews prepared by other hands than Raguenier's and listed as present in the catalog of 1697. We know further that Calvin preached on Judges, Daniel 1-4, end of Jonah, Nahum, some parts of II Kings, and more of the Gospel Harmony than we possess. It is not known whether these sermons ever were transcribed. At any rate the Library of Geneva does not appear to have ever possessed a copy of them.

In summary, out of upward of 2400 recorded sermons of Calvin, some 872 have been available in print since 1604 and are found in CR; between 640 and 675 more are now available in manuscript form and plans have been made for their publication; more than 850 (using a low figure of 60 sermons on I Kings and Hebrews), once deposited in Geneva, have apparently completely disappeared.

In contrast to the situation at the end of the 16th. century, when some 765 sermons were accessible to French readers and some 635 to English readers, the scarcity of the old editions and the lack of reprints have put the mid-twentieth century man at a serious disadvantage. In

[3] These sermons are different from the 8 sermons on Mt. 26-27 published in 1558 by Badius and translated by L. Nixon, *The Deity of Christ* (G.R., 1950).

French perhaps only some 40 sermons are currently available on the market, beside the new edition of the unpublished manuscripts. They are as follows:

4 sermons in *Oeuvres Choisies* (Geneva: Jullien, 1909).

11 sermons on the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection and the Second Coming, in *Oeuvres de Jean Calvin*, Vol. III (Paris: Je sers, 1936).

7 sermons on Isaiah 53, in *Revue Réformée* (Paris, 1951).

18 sermons on the Nativity, in *Revue Réformée* (Paris, 1956-57).

In English, we are scarcely more favored, for only some 65 sermons are in print:

14 sermons on the Pastoral Epistles in *The Mystery of Godliness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950. 212 pp.).

20 sermons on Jesus Christ in *The Deity of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950. 302 pp.).

20 *Sermons on Job* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952. xxxviii, 300 pp.).

7 sermons on Isaiah 53 in *The Gospel According to Isaiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953. 133 pp.) and again in *Sermons on Isaiah's Prophecy*, edited by Parker, (London: J. Clarke, 1956. 161 pp.).

1 sermon on Luke 2:9-14, published as Appendix I of T. H. L. Parker, *The Oracles of God* (London: Lutterworth, 1947).

We ought, of course to be grateful for what we have, but it is quite plain that much remains to be done, if Calvin the preacher is to be known by many in our generation. *(To be contiuned)*

SURVEY OF SIGNIFICANT ARTICLES

THOMAS H. LEITH

Advancement of Science, September. O.M. Bulman, "Recent Developments and Trends in Paleontology."

American Association of University Professors Bulletin, March. H. Mumford Jones, "The American Concept of Academic Freedom."

American Journal of Physics has P.F. chmidt, "Truth in Physics" in the January issue.

American Scholar for Autumn has Huxley writing on Darwin.

American Scientist for September has W. LeGros Clark, "The Crucial Evidence for Human Evolution." There are also articles on the poet and science, value judgments in physical science, and the occurrence of life in the universe. The December number contains "The *Origin* After a Century: Prospect for the Future" by C.I. Prosser.

Atlantic Monthly in October has a supplement on writing in America. See also

the *London Times Literary Supplement* for Nov. 6 for a special issue on the same subject. The December number is on Red China: the first ten years. The entire December issue of *Current History* treats the same topic.

Bibliotheca Sacra, October, has an article on water baptism in the early church.

Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society for Winter, 1959 has Warren Young writing on "Whither Evangelicalism?" and the Fall number contains four articles on interpreting Genesis one and two.

Centennial Review has an entire issue in the fall for the Darwin-Marx centennial.

Christian Century, January 6. L.B. Gilkey, "Darwin and Christian Thought."

Christian Graduate for March has an article on the Christian approach to literature.

Christian Scholar, September. J. Wren-Lewis, "Science, the World, and God." There are articles on religion and the arts and on the moral crisis in fiction in the December number.

Christianity Today for Dec. 21 contains a symposium on Christianity and world religions. On Feb. 1 three writers discuss capital punishment and the Bible.

Concordia Theological Monthly, November. O.T. Walle, "Toward an Evangelical Philosophy of Science." The Word of God in the theology of Karl Barth is discussed in February.

Daedalus, Fall. Karl Deutsch, "The Impact of Science and Technology on International Politics." Winter. Entire issue on the visual arts today.

Discovery, November. W.E. Dick, "Darwin."

Faith and Thought, Summer, 1959. F.F. Bruce, "Qumran and the Old Testament." Also T.C. Mitchell, "Archaeology and Genesis 1-11."

Foreign Affairs has Nikita Krushchev, "On Peaceful Coexistence" in the number for October.

Free University Quarterly for August has G.J. de Vries discussing the relation of Greek philosophy to the Apostolic church. In December, W. Stanford Reid writes on the University's Social Task.

Frontier contains Stockwood's "Religion and the Scientists" in the Autumn number, 1959.

Hibbert Journal, October. "Darwin and the Idea of Evolution" by Julian Huxley.

His for November has J. Miller, "John Milton's Satan." The February issue is made up of exerpts from the best articles of over four years ago.

Impact, Number 4, 1959. A.I. Oparin, "How Life on Earth Began."

Isis, March. W.F. Cannon, "The Uniformitarian-Catastrophist Debate."

Journal of Religion, January. W.F. Zuurdeeg, "The Nature of Theological Language" with a reply.

Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation, December. T.H. Leith, "The Need for an Evangelical Philosophy of Science" and W.H. Peterson, "New Testament Political Principles and American Constitutional Principles."

Main Currents for November discusses religion in the public schools.

Modern Age for the Fall is an issue on the shortcomings and values of American education from grade school through college.

Nation, May 16. A series on the tension beneath apathy in today's higher education. 'Whose busines is birth control?" is discussed on Dec. 12.

National Review has Dorothy Sayers, "The Lost Tools of Learning" in the Aug. 1, 1959 isue.

New Scholasticism for October has a symposium on evolution - its present evidences, theories of its mechanism, and the roles of cooperation and competition. Fine.

Philosophical Review, January. Anselm's ontological argument for the existence of God is discussed.

Political Science Quarterly for September contains R.I. Schuyler's "Contingency in History."

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. In 1959 the April issue dealt entirely with varied aspects of the theory of evolution, the August issue had H.A. Wolfson, "Philosophical Implications of the Pelagian Controversy", and the October issue had articles on Darwin and the influences of Darwinism in literature, economics, and religion.

Religious Education in 1959 had its first number as a symposium on the social sciences and religion and its last number contained a discourse on the implications of the axioms of classical protestantism for the philosophy of education.

Review of Religion for September discusses Calvin's doctrine of Christian liberty.

Response. A new semi-annual (to be quarterly soon) published by the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts at 2375 Como Ave., St. Paul 8, Minn.. It intends to promote Christian studies in the above fields. Articles in the first issue discuss literature and the church, the church hymn and theology, liturgy, and the theological foundations of worship and the arts. Music and book reviews are also contained. A much-needed publication.

Saturday Review for Aug. 15 had an article on the liberal arts and public policy, for Sept. 12 had a series on the roots of the school dilemma, and for Jan. 2 had Joseph Wood Krutch's "Reflections on the Fifties."

Science, Feb. 19. John Keosian, "On the Origin of Life." On Apr. 1 G.G. Simpson writes, "The World into Which Darwin Led Us."

Science Counselor for March contains articles on teleology and science and on philosophical aspects of evolution.

Science Progress for January has articles on fossils in evolutionary perspective and on unity in physics.

Scientific American, November. G.E. Daniel, "The Idea of Man's Antiquity." There is a discussion on numerology by Martin Gardner in the January number which should be read with O.T. Allis's booklet on biblical numerology.

Teachers College Record, December. J.L. Childs, "John Dewey and American Education" and J.L. Blau, "John Dewey and American Social Thought."

Union Seminary Quarterly Review for January contains a bibliography for ministers on Christianity and the arts.

Universitas, Vol. 3, No. 2. R.A. Paneth, "How Old is the Universe?"

University of Toronto Quarterly, April. H.M. Estall, "Existentialism as a Philosophy" and W.H. Dray, "Historical Causation o Human Free Will."

Victorian Studies for September is a Darwin anniversary issue on Darwinism in the history of ideas. Excellent.

Virginia Quarterly Review, Autumn, 1959. Lewis Mumford, "The Moral Challenge to Democracy."

Yale Review, Summer, 1959. On the changing image of American Catholicism.

SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES

ARTHUR F. HOLMES

Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* has become a classic. It stands as the prototype of a group of writings which highlight perhaps the most crucial problem of 20th century culture. More detailed and less crude than Orwell's *1948*, more subtle than C. S. Lewis' *That Hideous Strength*, more prophetic and philosophical than *On the Beach*, it depicts in bold strokes a purely technological society devoid of any values but those of scientific materialism.

The dawn of the nuclear age has simply brought the question into focus and posed it in the form of an existential predicament. It has become a commonplace to discuss the possibilities of man's surviving the next few decades. The impace of scientific technology now threatens not only our values but also our civilizations and, in the minds of many, mankind's very existence. Yet the fact remains that Huxley's age of Ford with its baby factories and behavioristically controlled populace spells what Lewis calls "the abolition of man," just as realistically as does global nuclear warfare.

This issue is gaining attention in academic circles. New philosophy of science textbooks are adding sections on "Science and Values." Actually it is not a new issue, but rather one which has been taking shape and gathering momentum since the rise of modern science in the Renaissance.

Mechanistic interpretations of nature introduced the problems. As long as such a metaphysic was confined to the material world, human values were safe. Descartes could happily segregate his *res cogitans* from the mechanistic *res extensa*. Mind is free, the seat of values. Matter is determined, the realm of science. The two operate in virtual independence of each other, with only relatively incidental interaction. Following in Descartes' steps, Blaise Pascal could likewise dissociate mechanistic science and its metaphysical implications from religious faith and values. Metaphysical arguments are equipollent; they say nothing about God and human values. The heart has its reasons there, which the mind does not know.

The coexistence of science and values in separate but equal realms cannot last for ever. It is at the best an interim arrangement, a compromise too easily upset by the growing ambition and might of the one party or the other. So history shows. Neither Hobbes nor Spinoza could rest satisfied with a mind exempted from scientific determinism. For Hobbes, mind is a function of mechanical forces. A behavioristic-type psychology results, and with it a form of hedonism which reduces all values to the determined expressions of a pleasure-loving animal. For Spinoza, mechanism tells only part of the story. The whole story is one of an *inner* determinism producing the semblance of mechanism— an inner determinism rooted in the fact

that thought and extension are but attributes of one common substance. Scientific determinism engulfed human values and freedom.

It was in conscious opposition to this encroachment of mechanistic physics into psychology, ethics, and, thereby, religion, that a number of Enlightenment thinkers raised their cry. Bishop Berkeley, ever alert to the needs of his day, recognized in this encroachment the bridgehead used by deism, materialism and atheism in their infiltration of intellectual circles and their attacks on Christian faith and values. Shrewdly incisive, he decided to cut the supply line of these invaders, to blast the reality of both matter and mechanical causation. His strategy was simple: to advance from Locke's epistemology, via the subjectivity of all sensory qualities and a denial of such abstract ideas as substance and power, to the view that only minds and ideas exist. Not even common sense needs a material substratum; and without one mechanistic metaphysics cannot survive, let alone engulf mind and values.

Leibniz's approach was different and in many ways more subtle and more satisfying. Recalling the scholastic metaphysic from which modern science had fallen, he endeavored to restructure and adapt its insights to the legitimate demands of both science and values. Aristotle and the scholastics had recognized four kinds of causation: material, efficient, formal, and final. The first two mechanism had retained: matter and motion. The last two it had rejected. Yet it was these which Leibniz sought to rehabilitate. Formal causes, essences, appeared as monads, each unique, eternal and unchanging. Final causation appeared as a preestablished harmony, expressed in his principle of continuity, and rooted in the rational necessity of a sovereign God. *By* Him and *for* Him are all things. Eternal essences and universal teleology together guaranteed the values enshrined in historic Christian theism.

Kant's approach was different again. Instead of destroying mechanism's metaphysical base as Berkeley had done, and instead of building a larger metaphysical base as Leibniz had done, he chose segregation—yet a segregation wholly unlike that of the Cartesians. By rejecting the historic preformation theory—that the structure of thought parallels the structure of reality—he succeeded in separting thought from reality. The former is the apparent, the phenomenal, the *ding-für-mich,* and mechanistic science operates purely therein. The latter, the noumenal, the *ding-an-sich,* is inaccessible to scientific thought and therefore to the usual metaphysical approaches. Scientific and metaphysical theory reflect mental forms and categories, not the ultimate nature of reality. Values, on the other hand, belong in the noumenal, beyond the encroachment of science. Immortality, freedom and God are no longer subjects of either scientific discussion or rational metaphysics.

It was this emphasis in Kant, of course, which launched the subjectivism of German idealism with its liberal theologies. Schleirmacher's theology of feeling, Ritschl's kingdom of values, and even Barth's existential theology, all reflect the post-Kantian segregation of science and metaphysics from theology and values. Now the problem is to re-integrate what has been forcefully segregated before history explodes and the abolition of man is completed.

What path shall we take? History suggests three alternatives: to surrender values to science, to isolate values from science, and to re-integrate values and science.

To surrender values to science is precisely the alternative depicted in *Brave New World*. It is the position implied in the pseudo-economic science of Marxism. It is propounded in a different form by the contributors to the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, who, in their Comtean attempt to extend scientific methods and postulates to all areas of life and conduct, exclude metaphysical and religious approaches. Dewey's experimentalism and Julian Huxley's agnosticism are cases in question.

Numerous values doubtless accrue from scientific methods and achievements in all areas. The attainment of psychology and sociology to scientific status has produced real gains. But we must beware the values realized by science obscure other values endangered by science and which can only be realized by other means. We must beware lest we confuse the values of science with the whole realm of values. We must beware lest we assume that scientific methods are wholly applicable to axiology, without loss thereto. For most of us the present impasse is sufficient reason for hesitation and doubt.

To isolate values from science has been a popular alternative. But Descartes's dualism toppled into Spinoza's monism, Pascal's fideism failed to stem the tide of deism and materialism, and Kant's phenomenalism gave way to the subjectivisms which haunt us to this day.

The third alternative path—re-integrating science and values—requires a philosophy of culture in which both will find acceptance, encouragement and freedom. But such a philosophy of culture will presuppose a metaphysic in terms of which science and values can be accorded proper status. In the days of mechanistic science, Leibniz recognized this necessity and acted accordingly. So did Plato and Aristotle amid the materialism and relativism of the Greek enlightenment. They saw the necessity of rooting values in a metaphysic that does justice also to science. They saw that science and values meet in metaphysics, that an integrated philosophy of culture must stem from an adequate metaphysic. In grappling, therefore, with the subtleties of substance and change, of freedom and determinism, of teleology and evil, they mere waging the cultural battles of their epochs. To wage the

cultural battles of our day, to relate science and values in a nuclear age, we too must develop an integrated philosophy of culture on a proper metaphysical basis.

In this task, Christianity holds a privileged position. Biblical theism provides seeds of thought; it gives to the philosopher both a starting point and a direction. The Hebrews valued the natural world as God's trust to man at creation; they valued the resources of their land as God's trust to their nation. Paul's reply to the Gnostic metaphysic at Colossae and John's adaptation of the Logos concept combine to outline the framework of a Hebrew-Christian theism. But privileged though Christianity may be in such regards, the work remains undone. Current proposals by naturalists like Whitehead and existentialists like Tillich may indeed provide stimulation and help, but neither metaphysic appears wholly compatible with biblical theism. The metaphysical basis of a Christian philosophy of culture has yet to be spelled out in sufficiently contemporary terms consistent at once with biblical revelation, recent scientific developments, and essential human values.

The problem is complicated by the fact that all too many Christian thinkers regard metaphysics as an impossible task. The field is surrendered before the onslaughts of supposedly anti-metaphysical positivists and existentialists. This is odd, in two ways. First, Christian history is laced with metaphysical concerns, and for good reason. Theism is a metaphysical position. The possibility of metaphysics is indispensable to Christian thought, and the explication of a metaphysic is its corollary. Second, neither positivism nor existentialism has said the last word. Post-positivist British philosophy has given birth to a group calling themselves "the metaphysicals." Theirs is a renewed, and we believe, a spreading interest in traditional questions. Existentialism has comparable concerns. Sartre and Heidegger—not to mention Tillich—move in ontology. In this country, the newly founded "Metaphysical Society of America" is lending fresh respectability to metaphysical inquiry, whether Whiteheadian or Thomistic, naturalistic or theistic.

Undoubtedly part of the difficulty stems from a semantic question—the meaning of "metaphysics." Willem Zurdeeg, for example, seems to regard metaphysics as the drafting of a closed system, such that "man-speaking metaphysically regards philosophy as a savior" (*An Analytic Philosophy of Religion,* ch. 4). True though this may be of some, it is still largely a matter of definition, which serves simply to call attention to the first task of any metaphysical discussion, a definition of objectives and methods. That this is a topic of current interest is evidenced by the variety of volumes and articles on the subject. Yet it remains but a prolegomenon to any future Christian metaphysic.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Light to the Nations, Norman K. Gottwald. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. xviii, pp. 615. $6.50.

Of the making of books of introduction to the Old Testament, there is apparently no end. The past three years have seen several such volumes; and since the serious study of the subject began 150 years ago, their number is legion. It is our opinion that *A Light to the Nations* is one of the better productions in this large mass of material and that it has several qualities of excellence.

It is, for one thing, considerably less technical and yet equally as accurate as some other modern introductions. Numerous charts set forth clearly the views of Gottwald or of other authors regarding literary strata in the Pentateuch or the prophetic writings. The author has considered carefully points of view other than his own, including in many instances those of conservative scholars. While he seldom agrees with a conservative opinion and sometimes does not understand it fully, as for example when he deals with the idea of verbal inspiration, it is encouraging to note his courtesy which is something of a phenomenon.

Another commendable feature of the book is its organization. When the author has fairly stated his own presuppositions, which he calls the angle of vision, he treats the ancestry of the Old Testament and matters of canonicity. His view is that a particular document is canonical because it has some kind of organizational approval. To this an evangelical will respond that canonicity is an inherent authority which God's people recognize, often intuitionally. The difference may be subtle, but it is important. The remainder of the book unfolds the concurrent development of Hebrew literature and history as the author understands them.

In general, the positions adopted by Gottwald are those of the recent form critical scholars of Germany and Scandinavia. Like them, he finds the theological content of the Old Testament important. He gives due recognition to the paramount place of the covenant idea in Israel's religion, even from Mosaic times. Like them, also he relegates most of Genesis to the realm of myth, saga, and legend which have their spiritual values but are of relatively little historical use. Isaiah is a little library of writings and most of the prophetic documents are divided into several strands according to the latest views of the rise of such literature among circles of disciples. While the author rejects the older documentary hypothesis as far as the mode of their origin is concerned, he differs very little from it as far as the dates of the segments J, E, D, and P are concerned.

Numerous illustrations appropriately placed, helpful appendixes and indexes are among the attractive features of the book. For one who would

like to be aware of the latest trends in the field and to see how the conclusions of form criticism are combined with a sincere recognition of the theological concepts of Israel, there can hardly be a better book than *A Light to the Nations.* —*David W. Kerr*

The Case for Orthodox Theology, by Edward John Carnell. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. 162 pp. $3.50.

When a politically significant event occurs, and the members of our Congress are asked for comment, it is unusual when the division of opinion does not follow party lines. There are religious parties in our day. It is interesting that there are also parties within parties. When the volume now under review appeared, perhaps the most significant reactions represented the parties *within* Orthodoxy. In view of the particular meaning of the term in this book, Orthodoxy may not be the best word here. However, I will use it in the broad sense stipulated by Carnell, "Orthodoxy is that branch of Christendom which limits the ground of religious authority to the Bible" (13).

Used inclusively, Orthodoxy connotes all who self-consciously make this claim, whether they live up to it or not. From this numerous group, the reactions to the Fuller Seminary professor's latest book have been varied. Some have welcomed it as the most significant rallying-cry of our generation. Others have suggested that it will not only please no one (who amounts to anything?) but it will serve no good purpose at all. Almost every level of opinion between these two extremes seems to be well represented. While some have accused Carnell of selling out to Liberalism or Neo-orthodoxy, others have found only the shibboleths of a well-worn Fundamentalism. If language means anything,and if it was acceptable to a responsible publisher, we may conclude that the book has sufficient coherence to speak a central message. It is the conviction of the reviewer that this message is an honest and commendable effort to present Reformation Orthodoxy in terms relevant to today's scene. The fact that Carnell is willing to confess his lack of omniscience and also to admit the past and present failures of Orthodoxy does not detract from but adds to the value of the study. The objection that his critique of Fundamentalism is actually an attack on the faith; and, that even if true, it should be avoided in the interest of unity before the enemies of the Gospel, is shortsighted. First, because on Scriptural grounds the church is told that it must judge itself if it is to escape judgement by the Lord. Christ did not hesitate to upbraid the Pharisees before the enemies of the Church. If Carnell is right that much of Fundamentalism is Pharisaism, then his judgement is quite in order. Further, common sense makes it plain that the most unacceptable attitude among thinking people is that which would "play God." Let us

now turn to the book itself and see what Carnell's case for Orthodoxy really amounts to.

To understand the rational of the presentation it must be noted that this is one of a series of three studies written at the request of the publisher. The purpose was to provide "a clear statement of three contemporary theological viewpoints by convinced adherents to those positions." Having no access to each other's manuscripts, Harold DeWolf wrote, *The Case for Theology in the Liberal Perspective,* and William Hordern, *The Case for a New Reformation Theology.* Carnell chose to present his case in the form of a statement of Orthodox theology and a defense. As early as his Preface he notes that his approach will attempt to be prophetic. "This has not been easy, for a prophet must speak against, as well as to, his people" (14).

The volume develops from the foundational elements of Orthodoxy through a statement of theology proper and concludes with an analysis of the difficulties and perils of Orthodoxy with particular reference to the future. Carnell begins by distinguishing the God of the covenant from the god of human wisdom. "God is a person, not a metaphysical principle" (17). "The God of Abraham confounded human wisdom by extending his love to the unlovely" (17). Faith, as the capacity of belief or trust, may be of two sorts. "*To believe a thing* is general faith; *to trust a person* is vital faith" (28). The former is an instance of the mind resting in the sufficiency of the evidences. Vital faith, terminates on a person, and "a person is encountered in fellowship" (29).

"Orthodoxy is unique in that it argues for the *plenary* inspiration of Scripture. The Bible, and the Bible alone, is the Word of God written" (33). In this chapter, Carnell presents the common Orthodox defence of the inspiration and infallibility of the Scripture. However, he concludes with a warning not to make propositional revelation an end in itself. It is rather of "instrumental value; it is designed to bring us into fellowship with Jesus Christ" (48). Since the significance of the Bible depends on how it is interpreted, he turns to the discipline of hermeneutics. He proposes six principles of interpretation: the revelation is progressive the New Testament interprets the Old, the Epistles interpret the Gospels, systematic passages interpret the incidental, universal passages interpret the local, and didactic passages the symbolic. A conscious transgression of these principles reveals a cultic bent on the part of the interpreter. The cultic mentality reveals itself in arbitrariness, intolerance, and a censorious spirit (cf. 113-114).

Theology must be drawn from the systematic passages of Scripture. Romans and Galatians thus become our prime sources. From these sources Carnell draws out the classic Reformation doctrine of justification by faith on the basis of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. When the

problem of proof is faced, Carnell's argument takes a different turn than in his earlier books. He appeals to the axiomatic knowledge of good and evil in the human heart. Judged by this criterion, Christ was a good man and His word can be trusted. This is not quite as simple as it first appears. He argues that "the word of a good man should be accepted unless sufficient reasons are found for rejecting it" (83). He finds that the evidences of objective reality support the Word of Christ. "Orthodoxy is formally true because its major doctrines are consistent with one another . . . it is [also] consistent with the things signified. . . *the affairs of the human heart and the affairs of history*" (88).

But the picture is not complete. "To say that orthodoxy is true does not mean that it has no difficulties . . . to affect omniscience is cultic . . . Difficulties are only a sign that we are men and not God" (92). The basic areas in which these are found are: the relation between science and Scripture, higher criticism, the problem of textual harmony within the Bible, inspiration and inerrancy. Yet with all the problems, Carnell concludes: First, the doctrine of inspiration rests on the testimony of Christ and the apostles. Second, Orthodoxy must not artlessly dogmatize on the relation between assertion and the thing signified. Third, the theology of the Church was received directly from Jesus Christ, and is not affcted by the problem of certain writer's sources.

We now come to the most controversial chapter in the book—on the perils of Orthodoxy. The reaction of the Orthodox community to Carnell's handling of his subject here fulfills his earlier prophecy, "The prophet is bound to incur censure from those who are too sure of their own perfection. I do not shrink from this threat" (14). Let us see if his basic assertions deserve the negative reaction they have received. The perils of which he speaks include the following: rigid, intolerant, and doctrinaire thinking; a highly censorious spirit; a tendency to separate unjustifiably from the life of the Church; and a general identification of loyalty to Christ with loyalty to the standards of the cult 113-114).

He credits the Fundamentalist movement in its earlier form with bearing some of the finest fruits of the Reformation" (113). However, by failing to connect their convictions explicitly with the classical creeds of the Church, Fundamentalists easily changed from a legitimate movement to a Pharisaical mentality. This mentality is not found exclusively in one place. Presumably we are all subject to it at one time or another. The constant danger is that we will take an absolute stand on a relative issue. Without insisting that all of Carnell's illustrations are absolutely accurate (would that not be cultic?), it would seem necessary to concede that the central issue is well joined.

He nexts considers Dispensationalism, which, he says, filled the place

vacated by the historic creeds. Further, as symbolic of any individual or group which withdraws from the general theological dialogue, the Dispensationalist is prompted "to fight major battles over minor issues" (118). This is seen in his willingness to divide the Church over minor eschatological details. What is more, the Fundamentalist—in so far as he represents Orthodoxy gone cultic withdraws even from the dialogue of man as man. He forgets the revelance of general revelation. And, because he does not *earn his right* to believe, he is filled with pride in not sensing his own deficiency. Moreover, in the area of ethics the Fundamentalist is frequently prompted by the quest for status in the cult. Thus, he defines the good life as that separated from prevailing social mores. "Separation promotes status in the cult; unity through love does not." Even the concern for the winning of souls often becomes a status symbol. "Ordinary human kindness does not have this cash value." Even the majesty of God and the sanctity of the Church may fall as casualties to the all-embracing passion to "save souls." With this is often coupled a magical attitude toward the Bible. In such a context it is entirely overlooked that the purpose of evangelism and the proof of God's working therein is the presence of character in the prophet and the production of it in the hearers.

In all of this, however, we must not forget that these perversions are "fathered by a misguided zeal, not malice" (124). Let the reviewer observe here that Carnell's unqualified statement is too generous. On the other hand, he is on firm ground when he observes that most of the Fundamentalist heresies arise out of the use of the Word of God as an instrument of self-security but not self-criticism" (125).

What is the outlook for Orthodoxy? Carnell sees Orthodoxy gaining future strength in three ways. First, it must overcome its minority group attitude: "a compulsive necessity to be right on every question, an excessive dedication to self-interest, and a culic refusal to enter into the wider Christian dialogue" (127). Second, it must bear the mark of true discipleship: love, as manifested in sympathy and kindness. Third, Orthodoxy must return to the classical view of the Church. This means that those who claim Orthodoxy must study the peace and unity of the Church. They should remain in the denomination to which they belong until they are either evicted or the group removes the Gospel from its confession or effectively removes the right to preach it. In all events, one can be sure that a spirit of divisiveness is not prompted by the Holy Spirit.

We have purposely set forth at length the argument of the volume in question. What has caused such withering attack upon it? The reviewer fails to see that what Carnell maintains is either so far from the Scripture or so far from the facts as to justify the negativism it has engendered in somet quarters. Rather, he believes that if the chapter which dealt essentially with

Christian liberty were removed, most of the controversy would never have risen. What then does this prove? If our judgment is correct, the absolute horror that has greeted Carnell on the part of some has stemmed from the relative matter of social customs. On most of these, if not all, the Reformers themselves would agree with Carnell and not with modern Fundamentalism. Carnell is then correct. The Fundamentalist has taken an absolute stand on a relative issue— and one on which the witness of Christian history suggests that he is wrong! At this point, one can only repeat what Christ said to the Pharisees of His day, "Why do you transgress the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition?" (Matthew 15:3). With Carnell, I believe that Orthodoxy has a great future, but it must rid itself of the worldliness of Fundamentalism. —*Lloyd Fulton Dean*

Toward a Christian Philosophy of Higher Education, ed. by John P. Von Grueningen. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 191 pp. 1957.

In some ways this is a curious book. The editor is Professor of German at Jamestown College, North Dakota. He served as chairman of the steering committee of the Jamestown Convocation on Christian Philosophy of Education in 1955. Except for a Forward of less than four pages, he is never heard of again. It would appear that the real editor was probably the President of Jamestown, Edwin H. Rian. He contributes the first chapter, "The Need: A World View." The upshot of it is that we need a Christian world view. What this might be is hardly clear. For example, Ferré and Dooyewerd are taken together as attempting to be "true to the genius of the Reformation and to the Scriptures." The book as a whole gives the same impression. Though Rian affirms that underneath the theological diversities of Christianity "there lies one faith that undergirds the whole structure of genuine Christianity," one may remain a bit credulous. Especially is this true when among the contributors one finds Dirks of Yale, Haroutunian of McCormick, and Trueblood of Earlham. However, as an expression of various viewpoints, the study still has value. Anyone interested in the theory, personality, method, and goals of Christian higher education will not suffer from the reading. —*L.F.D.*

A Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament, by Robert Dick Wilson. Chicago: Moody Press. 1959. 194 pp .$3.25.

This classical answer to the Higher Critics of the Bible has long been appreciated by serious Bible students, and its reprinting should served to introduce it to a new generation of schoalrs. This is more than a reprint, however, for Dr. Wilson's work has been brought up to date by the revisions of his successor at Westminster, Edward J. Young. The emphasis against which Wilson was writing has shifted in thirty years, but the dedicated

scholarship manifested here should be an inspiration and example to all who study the Word. The clear, forceful answer to the critical questions is still a great encouragement. —*P.C.J.*

The Story of the Reformation, by William Stevenson. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959. 194 pp. $3.50.

While the four-hundredth anniversary of the triumph of the Scottish Reformation may not inspire the same tremendous resurgence of Reformation studies as followed the Lutheran anniversary, among the books that will appear is this new layman's history of the Reformation.

Stevenson has directed his narrative to the general reader in the best Reformed tradition of developing intelligent Christian laymen. Because of this choice of audience the specialist in the field of church history should not expect to be swept off his feed by the study. Within the limits of Stevenson's purpose several advantages may be noted. The format provides an easy division of the complex Reformation around geographical areas, and the fine narrative style encourage interest in the story. Although the author as minister of the Grange Parish Church of Edinburgh shows his personal interest in and admiration for the Geneva-Calvin-Knox Reform, he develops a broad and informed view of the whole Reformation.

The weaknesses of the study are due, in part, to over simplfication, and also to the point of view with which he begins the book. Perhaps because he depends too heavily upon T. M. Lindsey and early twentieth century English historians like Acton, Coulton and Fisher, the Renaissance gets the traditional, over simplified treatment found in the description, "But five hundred years ago, when the Renaissance burst upon the world in all its fullness, life suddenly became an adventure." (p. 11) While it may appear to be a small issue in an introductory chapter, yet one's view of the Renaissance is essential in reconstructing the Reformation. For example this over-simplification of the Renaissance is coupled with a convenient black and white treatment of the Medieval Church as dead and lifeless in the midst of "progress, advance and enlightenment" in every other branch and department of life. (p. 15) By the time the Reformation comes into focus for Stevenson, it is natural and almost inevitable to describe it in terms of Carlyle and Froude's triumph of Individualism and the enlightened human spirit. The culture-formers of the Reformation tend to lose their identity and signficance against a proper cultural background and the story becomes a series of hero-pictures. A good example is the picture of Luther as the man of destiny who strides across the German stage when the appointed hour had struck. (p. 28) By picturing Luther as an early edition of Patrick Henry (p. 47) and the Reformation as a struggle for an abstract "freedom of the intellect and spirit" (p. 48) the real significance

of the burning of the canon-law, the trial at Worms, and the doctrinal struggle is missed.

Again in the case of Calvin, the hero concept of history, even though the heroes are Christian, will not result in a sold interpretation of the Reformation. Stevenson has difficulties with the German Reform, as one might anticipate from his use of the freedom-tyranny criterion as a norm of cultural development. Here only a thorough-going investigation of the sociology of justification by faith (see R. Rushdoony in the Westminster Theological Journal of November 1952) will make intelligible the work of a culture-former like Calvin in the concrete cultural situation of sixteenth-century Geneva. —*David L. Franz*

The Defence of the Gospel in the New Testament, by F. F. Bruce. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1959. 105 pp. $1.50.

The chief defense and apologetic for the Gospel is to be found in the New Testament itself. In a simple but most enlightening way, Dr. Bruce shows how the message of the New Testament is not only a proclamation of salvation and life but a defense and answer to the questions and criticism of the world. The opponents of the early Church, Judaism, paganism, the Empire and pseudo-Christianity, are each confronted and in detail it is shown how the Scripture met their challenge. Time changes, but men and principles do not. The defense of the Gospel in the New Testament is its strongest defens for th Christian of th twentieth century. —*P.C.J.*

Great Personalities of the Old Testament, by William S. LaSor. Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1959. 192 pp. $3.00.

A series of popular sketches of some of the great personalities of the Scripture. The historical and cultural background of each one is given, using some recent archeological knowledge, and some interpretation is offered of the problems and spiritual importance of the life. Originally lessons given to an adult Bible class, these chapters combine information with the color to be gained from realistic retellings of familiar stories. A brief but good bibliography concludes the book. —*P.C.J.*

Man in Nature and in Grace, by Stuart Babbage. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957. 125 pp. $1.50.

If "the proper study of mankind is man," he has come to some astonishingly and contradictory conclusion about himself. In the brief chapters of this book Dr. Babbage has set side by side the evaluation of man and his life that comes to us from the inspired pages of God's Word and the deeply thought and felt meditation of man upon himself. The biblical "man" is described in his creation in God's image, in his fall and present predicament, and as the "new man" in Christ. The discussion is fully documented with Scripture and with telling comments by theologians from Augustine to

Brunner. This is the only adequate picture of man, "All other attempts to solve the riddle of man are only fragments of meaning, broken and distorted parts of the whole, which cannot be fitted together again because they are distorted." This quotation from Brunner is the thesis of the book and the remainder is an attempt to illustrate it.

With man in biblical thought is contrasted first the concept of classical culture, a dualism of body and spirit that divided thingers from Homer to the Stoics. Then "Man in Christian Thought," the anthropologies of the theologians from Augustine and Pelagius to the Reformers. "Man and Contemporary Politics" is an illustration of the judgment of Nathaniel Micklem that "Every conceivable political theory rests upon an implicit anthropology, a theological or non-theological estimate of man" (55). Beginning with Hobbes and Roussenau the way is traced to its terrible culmination in Nietzsche-inspired Facism and Marxian Communism. "Man and Existentialism" points out the profound importance of Kierkegaard and his analysis of man, and shows how the existential philosophers have developed the doctrine of man's alienation and estrangement. The sixth chapter on "Man and English Literature" illustrates the thesis of Norman Nicholson that in modern English literature there appear three major conceptions, Liberal Man, Natural Man and Imperfect Man. A final chapter on "Man and Human Mortality" shows the fears and fascinations of the thought of death that man has had to live with through all his history.

This penetrating study could well serve as a syllabus for a greatly extended and thorough investigation of Man. There is a wealth of references that illuminates and at the same time intrigues the reader to study farther. It is a clear and forceful presentation of the great facts, problems and developments of man's thought set over against God's Truth. It is a valuable orientation for the thoughtful modern Christian, and ought to be required reading for anyone who must deal with the culture of our day. Thanks to Eerdmans for one of the best of the Pathway series.—*Philip C. Johnson*

Historic Protestantism and Predestination, by Harry Buis. Philadelphia. Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co., 1958. x, 142 pp. $2.75.

Though to many the doctrine of predestination may seem to be impractical and unimportant, it was for years one of the most bitterly contested of doctrines. Its adherents and foes nearly split the whole Protestant church, and the term came to be almost interchangeable with Calvinism. Pastor Buis has done an excellent work, not only in the historical survey, but in showing the importance and value of the doctrine both to the individual and the church, as a Scriptural truth, not simply as a theologian's argument. The book is not controversial, and although not intended to be exhaustive, it is a clear, full and helpful treatment of a teaching too often either neglected or overemphasized. —*P.C.J.*

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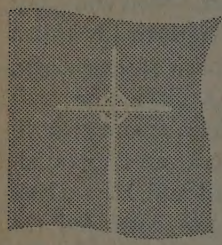

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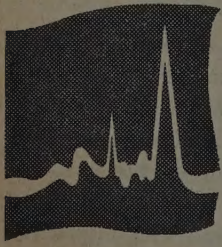

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